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ABSTRACT

Adult continuing education practitioners in the United States can improve their planning and decision making by developing an understanding of major societal influences on their programs. One way of understanding local influences is to learn about such influences on educational programs for adults in other national settings. This monograph is intended to illustrate the uses to which conclusions about societal influences can be put when making local planning decisions. The utility of an international perspective on the following seven decision areas is explored: planning, participation, campaigns, staffing, clientele, pluralism, and higher education. The section on strategic planning analyzes societal influences on agency functioning and on the service area, including social trends and client interests in six major regions of the world. Societal influences that deter participation in educational activities by hard-to-reach adults and that affect program priorities are examined. Selected societal characteristics associated with successful literacy programs are covered in the section on planning literacy campaigns. The section on providing professional development activities for adult education practitioners compares the contributions of providers, associations, and universities in various regions of the world. Examples of collaborative efforts that have been established in Europe, Canada, and Australia are provided. Each section includes implications for practitioners in the United States. Appendixes list journals with articles on adult education, methods of comparative analysis, and promising sources of comparative social indicators. (SK)

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INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVES ON ADULT EDUCATION

Alan B. Knox

University of Wisconsin-Madison

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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FOREWORD

The Educational Resources Information Center Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education (ERIC/ACVE) is 1 of 16 clearinghouses in a nationwide information system that is funded by the Office of Educational Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education. This paper was developed to fulfill one of the functions of the clearinghouse—to interpret the literature in the ERIC database. It should be of particular interest to adult education teachers, program planners, researchers, and policymakers.

The profession is indebted to Alan B. Knox, Professor of Continuing Education, University of Wisconsin-Madison, for his scholarship in the preparation of this paper. In 30 years of teaching, administration, and research in adult education, Dr. Knox has published more than 100 articles and books on such subjects as adult learning and development, continuing education, and adult educator education. From 1979 to 1984, he served as editor-in-chief of the Jossey-Bass sourcebook series, ***New Directions for Continuing Education***, and was President of the American Association for Adult and Continuing Education during 1984-1985. His international activities include work with the U.S. Information Agency, the Agency for International Development, and Unesco; and contributions to the ***International Review of Education***, the 1979 ***World Yearbook of Education***, and the 1985 ***International Encyclopedia of Education***. Dr Knox received a Fulbright grant for the summer of 1987 for research in Yugoslavia on comparative adult education, to result in a cross-national analysis of adult education programs worldwide.

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Ray D. Ryan
Executive Director
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in Vocational Education

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Adult continuing education practitioners in the United States can improve their planning and decision making by understanding major societal influences on their programs. One way to understand local influences is to know about such influences on educational programs for adults in other national settings. For example, knowledge of the Swedish study circles helped local practitioners adapt them to the United States. This monograph provides an overview of adult continuing education in various countries. Its purpose is to illustrate uses of conclusions about societal influences to illuminate local planning decisions. A comparative perspective can enable practitioners to clarify assumptions, adapt practices, anticipate trends, and recognize policy questions. Of course, this limited focus on using a world perspective to strengthen local programs is only one use of comparative education. Other valuable benefits include humility, sharing, understanding, peace, and progress.

The early sections of the monograph introduce the concept of comparative analysis, illustrate decisions practitioners might make using an international perspective, and provide an overview of comparative adult education. The main part of the monograph explores the utility of an international perspective on seven decision areas: planning, participation, campaigns, staffing, clientele, pluralism, and higher education.

The section on strategic planning analyzes societal influences on agency functioning and on the service area, including social trends and client interests in six major regions of the world. The section on participation explores societal influences that deter participation in educational activities by hard-to-reach adults (such as illiterates) and that affect priorities regarding such programs. Programs and related counseling services of technologically developed and less developed countries are contrasted.

The section on planning literacy campaigns analyzes some of the societal characteristics associated with successful efforts. The section on providing professional development activities for adult education practitioners compares the contributions of providers, associations, and universities in various regions of the world. Both availability of opportunities and demand by practitioners are considered. The section on clientele considers selecting categories of adults that are important for programming in light of agency and national priorities. Attention is focused on rural women, recipients of health education, and local citizens concerned with community problem solving in various parts of the world.

The section on pluralism deals with setting policies for collaboration with other providers, with examples from Europe, Canada, and Australia. This review considers influences such as geography, minorities, voluntary associations, and ideology. In the concluding section, attention is given to higher education institutions as sources of research and professional development for practitioners.

Each of these seven sections lists implications for practitioners in the United States. The concluding section reviews the rationale for adapting ideas and practices from countries with different histories and cultures. The main benefits of an international perspective are the productive

planning and policy questions that are generated for local consideration, along with the clarification of assumptions and the anticipation of emerging trends. The three appendices are bibliographic essays on journals that contain articles on international adult education, methods of comparative education, and sources of social indicators. The references list readings on international adult education that are cited in the monograph.

Information about international adult education may be found in the ERIC system using the following descriptors: *Adult Education, Adult Literacy, Comparative Analysis, *Comparative Education, Continuing Education, Cultural Pluralism, Decision Making, Developed Nations, Developing Nations, Educational Planning, Foreign Countries, *Global Approach, Government Role, International Cooperation, *International Education, Lifelong Learning, Literacy, Nonformal Education, Postsecondary Education, Rural Education, and *Social Influences. Asterisks denote descriptors having particular relevance.

INTRODUCTION

Practitioners who provide leadership for educational programs for adults have a sense of direction that enables them to use ideas about emerging trends and potential goals to provide responsive programs. Both the provider agency and the people in the area that is served are affected by major societal influences. This monograph illustrates the benefits of an international perspective for understanding major societal influences on local educational programs for adults. Such a perspective can also help practitioners clarify assumptions, anticipate emerging trends, and raise productive planning and policy questions.

Examples of plans and decisions that could benefit from an international perspective include initiating strategic planning, attracting hard-to-reach adults, planning campaigns, providing professional development activities for staff, selecting categories of adults that are important for programming, setting policies for collaboration with other providers, and relating to higher education institutions.

Each type of decision is affected by certain societal influences. For example, strategic planning helps practitioners consider economic development and quality of life when they set program goals. Population, economic, and political influences affect such goal setting. Policy makers are more likely to allocate resources to subsidize educational programs for undereducated adults (such as illiterates or marginal farmers) if they believe that doing so will contribute to the achievement of community or national development plans. In many countries around the world the success of mass adult education campaigns has been associated with centralized political systems and ideological fervor. Encouragement and support for professional development of adult education practitioners in many countries has come from organizations outside the provider agency, such as universities, professional associations, and international organizations.

Making decisions about choosing target populations of adults includes value judgments based on context analysis as well as needs assessment. Because there are conflicting pressures, information about national, community, or organizational priorities related to human resource development can help practitioners achieve agreement on priority audiences. Such priorities can help practitioners select audiences to emphasize in light of anticipated societal benefits. Because of pluralistic providers, voluntary cooperation is a major means of achieving collaboration among providers. Informal interaction among practitioners from various segments of the adult education field is one way to promote such cooperation. Incentives can increase collaboration. Many practitioners welcome help from universities in the form of useful research findings and professional development that can also benefit planning. Likewise, reviewing experience elsewhere can suggest productive questions for local planning and decision making.

USING AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

In a shrinking world, events occurring far away affect people's daily lives. Global trends and events are influential in ways that may escape notice. However, people at the forefront of many professional fields increasingly recognize that actively seeking a world perspective can enrich their planning and decision making. Such leaders think globally as they act locally.

International travel can broaden perspectives. Many returning travelers report that as much as they may have enjoyed meeting the people and seeing the sights in other countries, the main benefit was an increased understanding of their own beliefs and practices. The familiar is usually taken for granted. Exposure to people and programs in another societal context encourages examination of assumptions and practices and consideration of new options within a broader perspective and a more explicit rationale.

A comparative perspective on adult continuing education in other national settings can contribute to planning program content and process. The people who help adults learn and who prepare instructional materials related to many subject matter areas can include content that contributes to international understanding. However, the focus of this monograph is on the contributions that an international perspective can make to local program planning decisions made by adult continuing education practitioners.

In an interdependent world, practitioners can learn from each other. As promising professional practices are discovered in other national settings, they usually require adaptation to our societal context. This monograph explores major societal influences on local educational programs for adults. In education, history, and the social sciences, comparative analysis is used to understand societal influences that help and hinder program functioning. The resulting insights can enhance the planning and leadership of practitioners who recognize the major influences and options in their own situation.

Comparative analysis entails exploring examples and analogies with an eye to both similarities and differences. As a way of introducing some of the benefits of a comparative perspective, consider the following analogy between innkeepers and educators. The high failure rates and turnover in small businesses suggest how difficult it is to become a successful innkeeper. Inexperienced innkeepers want to be successful and to be responsive to their clientele yet may not know how. Consultants and franchise managers can help them succeed by broadening their perspective. This can be done by the use of comparative information about a greater variety of settings than most new innkeepers know about. This consultative process helps innkeepers evaluate options and make future-oriented decisions that extend far beyond the choices they made about eating and sleeping in a family context, even when the new business is only a small "bed and breakfast" or a tea room.

Innkeeper decisions about meals and dining can be enhanced by an understanding of national societal influences. Societal influences include variety and cost of food to list on the menu, availability of competing restaurants, and the importance that customers place on the setting and ambience as they influence the social experience of dining. The innkeeper's decision about the

location of the hotel or restaurant probably benefits even more from the consultant's perspective on similar establishments in various settings. Consultants use their comparative information to help an inexperienced innkeeper recognize desirable locations and criteria for selecting one, and they anticipate trends regarding neighborhoods, transportation patterns, and competition that are likely to affect future desirability of the location. Such comparative information is crucial for strategic planning.

Adult continuing education practitioners share a number of characteristics with innkeepers, which suggests benefits from a comparative perspective on societal influences. As with eating and sleeping, adult learning is a familiar activity that many people take for granted. New practitioners, many of whom are making the transition from consumer to provider of continuing education, want to be responsive to learners, but it is less evident to them why and how to understand societal influences. Consultants and other people who are familiar with the results of comparative analysis of such societal influences can help practitioners place their outlook in comparative perspective to recognize limiting assumptions and desirable options. The result is strategic planning in which practitioners anticipate and create trends.

Adult continuing education practitioners vary in the use they can make of a world perspective. Innovative program administrators and policy makers can enhance their planning and leadership by discovering unrecognized influences and creative solutions as a result of comparative analysis.

The adaptation of adult education study circles from the United States to Sweden and then back to the United States illustrates some of the dynamics that a study of comparative education seeks to illuminate (Oliver 1987). One use of study circles is to enable citizens to meet in lay-led study groups to discuss social and cultural issues as a basis for greater exercise of their public responsibility. Unfortunately, public responsibility and citizen role are the focus of only a small part of educational programs for adults in the United States. Two centuries ago, Jefferson and other founders of the nation were convinced that democracy is born in conversation.

A century ago, Bishop Vincent's Chautauqua home study circles were serving adults with limited formal education. When these home study circles reached their peak in 1915, there were 15,000 study circles, and more than half a million adults received correspondence study lessons upon which the discussions were based. In 1898, Oscar Olsson, a leader in Sweden's growing temperance movement, visited the Lake Chautauqua Assembly and was impressed with the home study circles. He introduced them within the temperance movement and they quickly spread to other Swedish social movements. A special emphasis was on reaching adults who had missed formal education earlier.

In both countries at that time, there were many rural adults with little formal education who were interested in further knowledge and education to cope with our increasingly urban and industrialized society. The participation-centered study circle enabled adults to discuss issues as equals. As Swedish study circles evolved during this century, a wider range of cultural and aesthetic topics was included. Today, more than half of Swedish adults participate in a study circle each year. In 1969, prime minister Olaf Palme characterized Sweden as a study circle democracy. Study circles have helped Sweden evolve in a few generations into one of the world's most mature social democratic countries, combining responsiveness to citizen concerns with bureaucratic centralization. However, an idea or program that works well in one society may not work in another.

One adaptation of study circles occurred two decades ago when Tanzania, with Julius Nyerere as president, used adult education for nation building and development in the face of an adult

population that was only 20 percent literate. In the first mass campaign in 1973, on health education, Swedes helped train 75,000 study circle leaders and 2 million adults participated. By 1981, issue campaigns and study circles helped to raise adult literacy in Tanzania to 80 percent.

Radio was used as an information source for study circles in Tanzania, and increased use of radio and television with study circles is currently being discussed in Sweden. Social issues help animate study circles, as illustrated by the 1980 focus on nuclear energy in Sweden, which was used for consensus building to shape public policy.

In recent years, the specifics of Swedish study circles have been analyzed in an effort to adapt them to various adult education uses in the United States. Some programs, such as Physicians for Social Responsibility or Educators for Social Responsibility, combined local discussion groups and concern about nuclear weapons. Other adult education programs use lay-led discussion groups. Examples include Great Books, with 5,000 participants annually; the Domestic Policy Association, which reaches 100,000 adults through national issues forums (some of which include study circles); and the Foreign Policy Association, with 150,000 participants. Other organizations, such as the YMCA-YWCA and the League of Women voters, make extensive use of lay-led discussion groups, as do the many adult religious education programs.

One of the first efforts to adapt study circles for Swedish labor union members to the United States was made by the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftsmen. This union lacked a history of widespread systematic education for members. An international perspective on labor education in the two countries helped adapt the specifics of Swedish study circles to enable union members to overcome widespread feelings of powerlessness. One central feature was use of the study circle method in conjunction with content and issues that were very important to union members for making planning decisions.

Adult education practitioners in various types of programs have been using an international perspective to enhance their efforts to strengthen study circles as vehicles for democracy in action. One benefit of a world perspective on adult education is the greater likelihood that leaders raise productive planning and policy questions and locate pertinent information from comparative analyses. The next section of this monograph provides an overview of basic comparative adult education concepts and sources.

OVERVIEW OF COMPARATIVE ADULT EDUCATION

How might practitioners gain a comparative perspective on programs in this country and why might they want to do so? During the past decade there has been an increase in publications that provide an overview of scope, trends, and issues in the field (e.g., Darkenwald and Merriam 1982; Niebuhr 1984; Peterson et al. 1979). Some of the journals are listed in appendix A. Such readings enable practitioners to recognize similarities and differences between their own program and other types of programs as a basis for sharing and cooperation.

Comparative analysis in any field enables us to understand distinctive features and common denominators, which can increase the likelihood that productive questions are asked. Instructors can use generalizations about adults as learners and about material selection to increase the effectiveness of teaching and learning for that type of program. However, to evaluate the appropriateness of a program's general goals and approach, it is helpful to compare the program with a varied selection of programs. Administrators and policy makers who want to understand major societal influences on their programs find it helpful to make cross-national comparisons.

Such analysis can include relationships between preparatory education of young people and continuing education of adults (Cropley 1979; Gelpi 1979). The analysis can also include political, economic, and social influences. Fortunately, writings are available that provide such an overview (Charters et al. 1981; Husen and Postlethwaite 1985; Lowe 1975). Chapter 6 of Darkenwald and Merriam (1982) is on international adult education. *The International Encyclopedia of Education*, edited by Husen and Postlethwaite (1985), contains more than 100 articles on aspects of educational programs for adults in many parts of the world. An international lifelong learning perspective on preparatory education of youth and on continuing education of adults was stimulated earlier by Faure et al. (1972) and reviewed recently by Coombs (1985).

One of the fundamental themes from comparative education concerns understanding programs within their historical and societal context (Harris 1980; Lorenzetto 1973). This can result from reviews of adult education in a single country (Jayagopal 1985; Kenny 1983; Newman 1979; Soljan 1985). Cross-national comparisons can illuminate even more widespread features. Similarities emerge at higher levels of generality, while differences persist at more specific concrete levels. For example, most publications on international adult education report that program participation is widespread, varied, and growing (Barron and Mohan 1979; Bhola 1983; Fordham 1986a,b; Kidd 1979; Schuller and Megarry 1979; Titmus 1981; Unesco 1982). However, participation rates are higher for adults with more formal education than for adults with less formal education. In each country, providers, goals, and programs reflect trends and societal influences. Seldom is there any mechanism for coordination or even reporting, and few people are familiar with more than a small part of the total adult continuing education effort. An increasing governmental role is affected by the type of political system. In countries with pluralistic political systems, most programs are not tax supported, and participation rates are relatively high, especially by adults who are already highly educated. Sweden is one of the exceptions with high participation and government subsidy.

Although there is growing acceptance of educational programs for adults, in most countries such programs still have lower priority than preparatory education and many other social programs. Especially when there are declining resources, competing priorities, or disillusionment with results, adult education programs in most settings confront survival problems.

Most educational programs for adults in most countries give little attention to certificates or diplomas. However, in scattered instances in most parts of the world, participants want certificates of completion to gain access to jobs, further education, and mobility. This is typically the case in China, the Soviet Union, and many East European countries.

Political pressures are also widespread, but the form they take varies. In the more industrialized countries that are largely in the northern hemisphere, there has been a move toward mixed economies composed of various combinations of public and private sector and various degrees of decentralization. This has lessened the eastwest polarization of a generation or more ago. As a result, many of the major societal differences that affect adult continuing education are between the more technologically advanced northern countries and the more rural southern countries (Fordham 1986a,b).

In the technologically less developed countries, most people live in rural areas, but there is rapid migration to cities, and the government has a strong role in national and community development. Various languages, religions, and cultures make achieving a sense of national identity a central national goal. Political education is used to achieve greater national identity. Sometimes a powerful group seeks to dominate the others. Although several ministries are usually engaged in human resource development, and although public statements support adult education, in practice levels of financial support are low and connections with national development plans are general. Major areas of emphasis are literacy, health, and rural extension.

In the technologically more developed countries, educational programs for adults tend to be more varied regarding provider, content, level, and method. Financial support includes tax funds (national, regional, local) and private funds (participant fees, support from enterprises, contributions by religious institutions and voluntary associations). Continuing professional education and general education are emphasized (Friedson 1986). The greater emphasis on self-directed study for personal development is reflected in provision for counseling and information services. Many adult education programs provide a second path for obtaining secondary or higher education for people who did not do so earlier in life. In addition, many traditional higher education institutions are serving an increasing proportion of older, returning, and part-time students.

In each country, there is a distinctive mix of influences on local adult continuing education programs. The pattern of influences includes historic traditions, aspects of the political and economic system (and especially how pluralistic it is), religious traditions, language differences, general level of formal education attainment, social style, and reliance on written versus oral communication. A very diffuse influence is typical beliefs regarding lifelong learning. A more tangible influence is the social infrastructure that can support adult education, such as educational institutions, voluntary associations, government staff members, and subject matter experts who are willing to cooperate. A minor influence is the availability of meeting areas, along with educational technology and materials that can be used for adult education programs.

An important question is: Who mainly influences program goals? In voluntary programs, participants have an influence through their enrollments. Adult education programs that are associated with schools and colleges are affected by the formal preparatory education programs,

which are the main vehicles for social mobility. Formal education institutions tend to be controlled by the power elites of the establishment. It is less clear who controls nonformal adult education programs. Political parties and prominent leaders can be very influential. Even programs that are planned nationally typically take place locally where they are influenced by local elites, whose position may be threatened by antiestablishment reform programs. International agencies may be an influence, especially regarding improving agriculture or health in developing countries. Adult continuing education practitioners and their professional associations can also be an influence, depending on their numbers, background, and outlook. Because the combination of influences tends to result in inertia, practitioner effectiveness depends on the praxis they can promote between aspirations and realities. Strategies for such praxis can be informed by an understanding of major societal influences so as to harness those that help and to try to deflect those that hinder movement in desirable directions.

This overview suggests some concepts derived from comparative adult education. However, such ideas tend to be too general to be very useful for most practitioners. The following section illustrates how a world perspective can illuminate societal influences on local program decisions in such areas as planning, participation, campaigns, staffing, clientele, pluralism, and higher education.

DECISION MAKING WITH AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Each of the following seven sections begins with a type of decision that local practitioners typically confront, along with some references to professional literature on the topic from a United States perspective. This is followed by a review of major societal influences on that type of decision, as reflected in the comparative adult education literature. Sections conclude with implications. Each section illustrates a different way of using cross-national generalizations.

Planning

Understanding societal influences on educational programs for adults is especially valuable for strategic planning because half of the information typically used for this purpose concerns the societal context (Keller 1983; Knox 1982; Simerly et al. 1987). Strategic planning uses information about provider priorities, strengths and weaknesses, and leadership. It also includes information about societal trends, client interests, and relations among providers. Combined information from these six sources can be used to plan for the future success of the provider organization by considering desirability and feasibility along with commitment to implementation by those people whose cooperation is essential. Comparative analysis can help identify societal influences on internal provider characteristics, such as priorities and values, strengths and weaknesses, and leadership effectiveness. It can also help identify features of societal trends, client interests, and relations among providers of adult continuing education that should be considered when making sound plans (Hall 1977; Hofstede 1980; A. King 1985; LeVine and White 1986; McLean 1986; Unesco 1982).

When reviewing provider values and priorities, one must consider the fit with the current and emerging concerns, problems, and opportunities in the larger society. Adult education can contribute to change and stability in a country. It can promote greater equity, access, liberation, mobility, quality of life, values clarification, self-directed learning, and continuity with formal preparatory education of young people. It can also help maintain stability by building on multiple traditions, maintaining unity and social integration, and tempering modernization efforts with attention to appropriate technology and dominant cultural values.

Analysis of societal influences on the provider helps to build on strengths and offset weaknesses. Planners seek answers to questions such as the following: How can the general public and policy makers gain a more comprehensive understanding of educational programs for adults? How can an adult education program build on the widespread nonformal educational activities that occur in each country? How can desirable program decentralization occur so that there is local responsiveness and support? How can more adequate and stable funding be achieved? Each of these questions entails consideration of societal influences in a specific context.

Program leadership includes practitioners working for a provider as well as other people in the community or country working on behalf of the program. Overall, leadership entails achieving agreement on desirable program goals and encouraging contributions to goal achievement. Because the image and provision of adult education are very fragmented, what do provider and

community leaders do to achieve more comprehensive understanding and support? Because practitioners have such varied backgrounds, what can be done to promote greater effectiveness, credibility, and professionalization? Because resources are very unstable, how do effective administrators muster them? Because adult education programs are very dependent on voluntary contributions, how do effective leaders work with volunteers?

In addition to affecting the internal functioning of the provider agency, societal influences affect the environment in which the agency functions. Shifting client interests, provider relations, and societal trends generally shape the community, national, and international context in which agency plans are implemented.

Widespread societal trends suggest questions about likely future conditions in a country that can be considered when planning: What are the main effects of population and urbanization trends? What are the trends regarding work, family, and life-style generally? How is the educational level of the adult population changing? Is knowledge becoming a major influence on productivity and economic conditions? Is there a major conflict between powerful elites and the masses of citizens? What level of political support for adult education is emerging? Is the economic system moving toward a combination of central planning and free markets? How important is international cooperation and exchange?

The willingness of the clientele to participate is important. Clients, or potential participants, vary in their needs, interests, readiness to participate, and in the specific facilitators and barriers they confront. Needs assessment and context analysis (especially from a comparative perspective) can suggest useful answers to the following questions: How interested are the clients in educational activities? Why are they interested? What are the main deterrents to participation by the categories of adults who are least well served (rural, women, older), and what can be done to reduce those barriers? How important is empowerment, including acquisition of proficiencies for ongoing learning and development? What forms of program decentralization will result in sufficient local relevance and support?

Adult education practitioners complain about inadequate resources and uncoordinated providers. Even in countries with central planning, it is difficult to fit the variety of providers and programs into national and community development plans. Practitioners also complain that they have more to contribute to such planning and implementation than is being allowed. One part of the solution is to formulate laws, policies, and arrangements that are aimed at cooperation among various government ministries or departments. Incentives for cooperation between public and private sectors can be included. What problems exist related to such cooperation among providers, and what should be done to solve them? What contribution can be made by local, national, and international associations of adult education practitioners to promote more satisfactory collaboration? In practice, there is very little strategic planning for adult education. Considerations of societal influences can help practitioners strengthen planning in the future.

Following are subsections on societal influences that affect planning in six regions of the world—Africa, Latin America, Europe, the Soviet Union, the Middle East, and Asia. Each subsection contains examples of societal influences on each of the six components of strategic planning noted earlier.

Africa

Because many African countries have become independent since World War II, and international assistance was provided for nonformal educational programs for adults, much has been written about African adult education. The readings selected to illustrate societal influences on

planning were drawn mainly from Ghana, Nigeria, and Tanzania. The formerly French colonies experienced somewhat different trends. Most of the newly independent nations were composed of separate tribes with their own language and traditions, which had been arbitrarily assembled by the former colonial power for reasons other than local affinity. Thus, one function of adult education under independence was to promote community and especially national unity. Religious values also influenced program values, such as educational programs that sought to draw from Christian, Moslem, and local religious traditions. Some program participants valued adult education in the belief that it empowered them to achieve personal goals. Some optimistic leaders emphasized liberation, productivity, and national development. More cynical observers believed that adult education gave learners a false sense of opportunities for personal and community development, which undercut a mass movement to overthrow the ruling elites (Bown 1977; Bown and Tomori 1979). It is a rare adult education planner who recognizes such a range of perspectives and understands which is pertinent to a specific decision.

Regarding program strengths and weaknesses in Tanzania, educational assistance for a literacy campaign was more successful than for the effort to create communal villages. Although decentralization and stable financing were important, the literacy campaign was more in tune with learner aspirations than was the effort to create villages (Okeem 1982; Sheffield and Diejomaoh 1972). Leadership is a third aspect of internal provider functioning, that is affected by societal influences. Training of adult education practitioners helped them understand how their programs supplement formal education of young people as but one part of national development efforts. Furthermore, they realized that the clarity of their goals and the credibility of their performance were related to public understanding and confidence, which affected program success (Bown and Tomori 1979; Okeem 1982; Sheffield and Diejomaoh 1972).

Societal trends also affect planning. Some educational programs for adults confronted conflict between a long tradition of informal indigenous adult education oriented toward stability and more formal western adult education oriented toward change. Education-oriented political leaders, such as Nyerere in Tanzania, demonstrate how leaders can help solidify and guide broad support for adult education. Tensions between powerful elites and powerless masses can become creative sources of motivation and constructive change or can undermine program credibility and effectiveness. Much depends on how practitioners relate to chiefs and masses. Fluctuations in economic conditions in a country affect participants and providers, but in different ways (Bown 1977; Okeem 1982). Projections of pertinent trends provide one basis to plan for conditions likely to be influential when program plans are being implemented.

Some features of the societal context pertain to public needs and interests. These features are relevant to planning. One characteristic in many African countries is the use of one or more national languages where many local languages are spoken. Other influences on clients are deterrents such as distance and competing time demands. A third is adults' perceptions as potential consumers of educational programs, which reflect the program images that are communicated. Information about societal influences on such client characteristics can enable practitioners to consider both needs and context in order to provide responsive programs to which potential participants are likely to respond (Kamunema 1982; Okeem 1982).

Planning information about societal influences on provider relations can help practitioners use an overview of various types of educational programs for adults to help each type of provider emphasize distinctive contributions and collaborate where appropriate. In most countries, there is widespread concern about the many ministries that provide separate educational programs for adults. Scarce resources for a program are not likely to be augmented if program support in another ministry is reduced. Unsatisfactory support in part reflects the generally low priority

assigned to adult education for achieving national development goals. This suggests that collaboration, performance, and evaluation may be a more effective way to increase support than rivalry (Bown and Tomori 1979; Sheffield and Diejomaoh 1972).

Latin America

Strategic planning for adult education in Latin America tends to be polarized between, on the one hand, programs that assume that current political and economic arrangements are likely to continue and that the educational goal is to help adults progress as well as possible in that system, and, on the other hand, popular education programs that assume that a major goal is to help change the system. Values central to the latter approach include consciousness raising and perspective transformation to help adults understand and make desirable structural changes (Freire 1970; Torres 1983). When a desirable change occurs, adult education may be used to solidify gains and to strengthen the new government's position to avoid counter revolution.

Weaknesses of adult education programs that reflect societal influences include low pay for staff and perceptions that they are of little value for accomplishing major goals. Strengths include the widespread occurrence of informal adult education and the greater effectiveness of longer programs for occupational advancement (Swett Morales 1983; Verhine and Lehmann 1982). A societal influence on program leadership is the extent to which it depends on administrators' success in mustering resources (Swett Morales 1983).

In contrast to the foregoing influences on provider functioning, the following influences affect the community and national setting in which a program occurs. Movement of people from rural to urban areas influences adult education at both locations. The type of political and economic system influences adult education goals and methods in a country in predictable ways, such as national goals for productivity in capitalist countries and national goals for participation in socialist countries. Powerful local elites seek to influence programs that seem to threaten their position. Government bureaucracies for education tend to be quite centralized (Rojo 1984; Torres 1983).

A societal influence on interest in adult education participation is the presence of role models who can encourage such participation. An influence on relations among the various providers is the existence of incentives for collaboration. Success working with similar organizations can promote praxis between learning and action. This cooperation can also occur between national and local levels. Some national programs are discovering that about a quarter of the resources can come from local communities through partnerships (Martin 1983; Swett Morales 1983).

Europe

As with every region of the world, there are great variations within and among the European countries in the amount and types of educational programs for adults that occur and in the major societal influences on those programs. The following examples related to provider characteristics and environmental scanning indicate the utility of information about such influences for purposes of strategic planning.

Self-directed learning is valued in part because of its utility for helping fairly well educated adults learn their way into an uncertain future. Adult continuing education is also valued as a means of achieving greater equality and democracy. As was illustrated by legislation in several European countries during the 1970s, educational activity was viewed as a way to increase productivity and economic growth (Janne, Dominice, and James 1980). In general, the optimism of policy makers was not matched by worker response.

In rural nations such as Portugal, Ireland, and Greece, a strength of some educational programs for adults is an appreciation of a rich oral tradition and use of program approaches that accept and build on it. Formal and print-oriented programs create barriers. Some European countries have worked hard to extend educational opportunities to more of the adult population. This may occur in targeted ways, such as the University of the Third Age in France, in which special programs are developed to increase educational opportunities designed for older adults. Greater access may also occur as a broad national policy with governmental subsidy and encouragement related to many provider organizations, as is the case in Sweden (Boucouvalas 1982; Janne, Dominice, and James 1980; Melo 1983; Swedish Institute 1983-84).

Effective leadership was illustrated by the literacy campaign in the United Kingdom, which responded to a recognition that adult illiteracy was more widespread than had been realized by increasing public understanding and support through the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) and government grants, by conducting a successful literacy campaign, and by including a research and evaluation component. In Sweden, ideological commitment to equity and democracy was combined with concern about the extent to which higher adult education participation by people with the most education was widening the gap between the haves and the have-nots. Research was used to define the problem and suggest likely solutions that legislation and collaborative approaches to program provision sought to implement (Hoghielm and Rubenson 1980; Janne, Dominice, and James 1980).

In contrast to the foregoing examples of influences on internal program functioning, environmental scanning seeks information about societal trends, client interests, and provider relations to predict conditions in the geographic area a program serves. One societal trend that occurred in a number of European countries, especially during the 1970s, was legislation to provide financial support for educational programs for adults as a spur to economic development. It was generally recognized that adult continuing education can do little to prevent or reverse a major economic recession. However, the rationale was that support for recurrent education, paid educational leave, and job retraining might accelerate the process of job changes for individuals to reduce unemployment and labor shortages. Examples range from the comprehensive 1976 Adult Education Act in Norway to the Italian 1974 legislation for paid educational leave, which allows employees to have up to 150 hours of study leave from their employer during a 3-year period. A trend in Portugal that affected adult education was the major political change in 1974 from a long-term dictatorship: the new government focused attention on high illiteracy rates, especially in rural areas, as an impediment to national development. In spite of more than a dozen governments since then, as well as absorption of many people from former colonies and economic problems that meant less money for adult education, increased interest in adult education resulted in volunteer literacy brigades. In the Federal Republic of Germany, shifts in political party positions have produced some changing emphasis in adult education. The programs are typically centralized for funding but decentralized for programming (Janne, Dominice, and James 1980; Melo 1983; Rivera and Dohmen 1985).

Societal influences on client interest and participation are illustrated by Swedish public policy. An equalitarian liberal political philosophy, little formal education among older and rural citizens, and a long tradition of folk schools and study circles for adults contributed to legislation for greater access to adult education in the interests of equity and democracy. This legislation provided increased financial subsidy to municipal adult education and study circles dealing mainly with civics and arts content. Issues of unemployment and productivity were addressed by labor market training and employers' payroll contributions for educational leave. The result was to reduce fees, increase access, increase the proportion of Ministry of Education funds spent on adult education, and greatly increase the proportions of all types of adults who participate (Janne, Dominice, and James 1980; Peterson et al. 1982; Swedish Institute 1983-84).

In most European countries, adult continuing education is fragmented. Exceptions include Sweden, with national policy coordination and subsidy, and the United Kingdom, with the coordinative role of the Local Education Authority. By contrast, Ireland has more than a dozen separate government departments that attend to adult education, although there is informal cooperation.

In Greece, the directorate of adult education is heavily oriented toward literacy and has decentralized program responsibilities through districts to local centers. In some programs (such as Swedish municipal adult education programs), in spite of practitioner beliefs about the desirability of learner-entered programs, content-centered programs result because learners prefer an emphasis on achievement and grades. In the German Democratic Republic, there is substantial program diversity, but with more centralized coordination and ideological emphasis than in most other European countries (Boucouvalas 1982; Charnley 1975; Hoghielm 1986; Murchu 1984; Schneider 1977; Textor 1986).

Soviet Union

Planning for adult education might be expected to be distinctive in a country in which centralized planning is prized. Understandably, two widely expressed values are educational opportunities for all people and the responsibility of the party and government for coordinated planning. Another priority for adult education is attention to both procedures and values in providing values education for citizenship and technical education for productivity. Adult education is expected to help people reduce deficits and acquire the interest and ability to continue to learn and grow (Lee 1986; Vladislavlev 1979).

Soviet writers express understandable pride in comprehensive planning for adult education including coordination of varied programs and their relation to preparatory education and provision for research and preparation of practitioners. Lee (1986) expressed concern about the extent to which widespread use of lectures to passive learners falls short of the ideals of adult pedagogy. There has recently been decentralization of policy making through Znanie, a society of scientists concerned with education of the general public. It also has responsibility for Peoples Universities, which are setting up governing councils to advise on local priorities (Lee 1986). Heavy use has been made of volunteer instructors who are full-time teachers and experts in other settings who contribute their services part time to conduct courses in the Peoples Universities. This arrangement seems to work well in urban areas, but it is unclear what is being done in remote areas that lack such resource persons (Lee 1986).

In general, adult education leadership combines attention to ideology regarding goals and to technical procedures to achieve goals. It is likely that with the Peoples Universities' reliance on volunteers, leadership includes use of various incentives when working with volunteers.

Many societal trends affect the Peoples Universities and the many other educational programs for adults in the USSR. The Soviet Union has often used adult education when there was a lack of educated people. Major examples include literacy education in the early years of the USSR and technical education following World War II. The Soviet Union has used the comprehensive formal education system to serve both young full-time students and older part-time students, including correspondence study for distance learning. In the work setting, labor teams have served both inspirational and educational functions. More than in many other countries, economic education has been emphasized. As noted earlier, Znanie functions as a nongovernmental association that supports and assists adult education programs through Peoples Universities, museums, and libraries. Other adult education programs are conducted by formal education institutions, enterprises, and the government (Onushkin and Tonkonogaya 1984; Vladislavlev 1979).

Because there appears to be sufficient demand for adult education, the main task for practitioners seems to be to respond to the demand. Much of the competitiveness among independent providers that is familiar in more pluralistic countries seems to be minimized through central planning and coordination. As noted, Znanie provides coordination of Peoples Universities and other public organizations that provide adult education, each of which is concerned with its own administration and financing (Lee 1986).

Middle East

In this cradle of religions and civilizations, traditions serve to unite and to divide people. Both Moslem and Judeo-Christian traditions value learning. Adult education programs seek to build on relevant traditions, even while they promote changes that modify other traditions. In Israel, there are practitioners in many independent programs, ranging from agricultural extension (for rural development) and Ulpans (for intensive language learning), to Everyman's University (which provides higher education through correspondence study at half the cost of resident instruction). Large numbers of Jewish immigrants have made absorption into Israeli life and the Hebrew language an urgent priority, as reflected in the Ulpan and Kibbutz. In the Arab states, although learning is valued, active participation by students in formal education activities is unfamiliar, and differential roles for women are reflected in adult education opportunities (Alsunbul 1985; Gross 1978; Israeli 1978).

Some adults have a strong interest in the study of religious writings. Functional literacy programs that have combined literacy and numeracy with learning about occupations, religion, or health have been more effective than those based on literacy alone, with the possible exception of the Ulpan. Because of the Israeli absorption problem, the use of the Ulpan and Kibbutz to provide intensive full-time education for large numbers of immigrants has been successful. Decentralized program responsibility to community learning centers has been a strength. Centralized bureaucracy has generally been a weakness, as has insufficient assistance from universities (Alsunbul 1985; Israeli 1978).

The success of the Ulpan in Israel reflects strong leadership. By contrast, in many other Middle Eastern countries, adult education is not seen as an important part of the solution of pressing national development problems. Lack of coordination among ministries is a weakness, as is a lack of strong national leadership for adult education. Attention to inservice education of practitioners is noted as evidence of strong leadership because so many people who help adults learn have little preparation to do so (Alsunbul 1985; Sobeih 1984).

Middle Eastern tensions are part of the context for adult education. Oil wealth and other national development priorities have intensified the need for more highly educated adults. Nomadic families of a decade or two ago are today confronting high technology. Workers' education, agricultural extension, and specialized education for technicians and engineers reflect this shift. In addition to the absorption of Jewish immigrants in Israel, there are educational programs that are responsive to the many Arabs living there and the shifting life-style that has resulted (Israeli 1978, 1980; Sobeih 1984).

Responsiveness to learner needs occurs in various ways. Local conversations with potential participants to assess their needs have many advantages. However, in sparsely populated areas, people know so much about each other that some adults may be reluctant to reveal inadequacies due to embarrassment. An understanding of influences that encourage or discourage participation

can be very useful to increase program responsiveness. Selection of a local adult education coordinator who is well liked in the village has many benefits including needs assessment, priority setting, encouraging cooperation, and evaluation. Program responsiveness is especially difficult in remote areas where families are nomadic (Alsunbul 1985; Israeli 1978, 1980).

Cooperation among providers is promoted in various ways. In the Arab states, activities of the regional training center have encouraged cooperation among practitioners. In Israel, local joint courses on Arabic and Hebrew traditions can encourage cooperation among learners as well as practitioners (Israeli 1980; Sobeih 1984).

Asia

The following examples of societal influences related to strategic planning for educational programs for adults in Asia were selected mainly from India, Thailand, the People's Republic of China, and Japan. A widespread priority in such programs is occupational advancement for social mobility for the individual and economic growth for the country. However, another strong value is adult education for cooperative problem solving and social integration to reduce inequalities and promote cooperation and a sense of community. This is illustrated by social education for adults through community centers in Japan (Unesco 1982).

Some of the strengths and weaknesses of local programs reflect an urban orientation of programs in predominantly rural countries. In Thailand, for example, nonformal education for adults is disproportionately concentrated in urban areas. Voluntary associations are less widespread than in the United States. Especially in some of the smaller Asian countries, program administration tends to be centralized at the national level, which can result in slow disbursement of funds for local programs. In Japan and China there has been a trend toward decentralization (Unesco 1982).

Societal influences on local program leadership are illustrated by efforts to decentralize local literacy campaigns in Thailand. The decision to do so was agreed upon by the adult education practitioners involved, and there was good cooperation at the national level. However, this was contrary to the pattern of public administration in the country, and the provincial centers were slow to shift. Another example of societal influences on leadership occurred in India, where the reluctance of rural women to attend programs in the town was countered by the decision to send women literacy workers to their homes to initiate the program (Armstrong 1984; Unesco 1982).

Various societal trends, client interests, and provider relations affect the national and community context in which educational programs for adults function. One example is the social disorganization that has occurred during recent generations in Japan as a rural, family-oriented feudal society has been affected by urbanization. This has affected family relationships, especially for older adults. Social education programs help adults with social cohesion and group problem solving. Another example is adult education in the People's Republic of China following the cultural revolution. The dramatic societal shift in outlook regarding international relations, national development, and education affected the content and process of nonformal education, as illustrated by attention to economic development (Duke 1987; Hunter and Keehn 1985; Sidel 1982; Unesco 1982; Wang and Lin, forthcoming).

Decentralization increases not only responsiveness and client interest, but the level of local community financial support for adult education as well. Constructive relations among adult education providers can be strengthened at several levels. This is illustrated at the national level by

the All India Declaration on Adult Education Priorities and Activities (International Adult Education Association 1982). It is illustrated locally by collaborative staff development of adult education practitioners in rural communities.

Participation

Many practitioners want to encourage participation by adults whom the provider agency wants to serve but who are hard to reach. Undereducated adults are a prime example, but there are many other types of underserved adults (Darkenwald and Larson 1980). Strategies to encourage participation should include attention to influential facilitators and barriers (Knox 1987). Educational counseling and brokering can contribute to both attraction and retention (Heffernan 1981). Most rationales for marketing and recruitment for adult continuing education include components that are internal to the provider organization and components that reflect societal influences in the service area and nation. This section suggests some of the ways in which an international perspective can help practitioners understand such societal influences in their own context. The following review of societal influences on participation in adult basic education programs in various national settings concludes with implications for attracting adults to such programs in the United States.

Literacy is the focus of one of the most widespread types of educational programs for adults worldwide. In spite of great progress in increasing the numbers of literate adults, rapid population increases have resulted in the gradual growth in the absolute number of illiterates. Literacy education is part of adult basic education, which provides a threshold for personal, community, economic, and national development. Among the societal influences and benefits of basic education are economic productivity, quality of life, political change, and social equity. Most countries emphasize some of these outcomes. International assistance has also contributed to literacy education (Cairns 1975; Noor 1982; Ryan 1985).

In technologically less developed countries, societal influences (such as national commitment, governmental centralization, and multiple languages) affect major components of literacy education. National commitment can be public or private and can emphasize various benefits such as productivity, change, or equity (Rojo 1984). Noor (1982) noted that selective efforts tend to be more successful than mass campaigns except where supported by a centralized government with an ideological fervor. Collaborative and decentralized organizational arrangements are desirable to broaden linkage and cooperation, but so is some centralized cooperation that is usually based in the ministry of education (which typically gives adult education low priority). With some training, local part-time teachers can be more effective than preparatory education teachers. However, this raises other questions, such as selection, training, compensation, and termination. Basic resources are essential, and the involvement of local communities is one way to broaden the resource base (Yongfan 1982; Zabala 1982). Multiple languages in a country can greatly affect literacy education because of difficulties about which ones to teach (Kidd 1979). Incentives depend on learner priorities (Rojo 1984; Ryan 1985; Villarroel 1983). For example, poor rural adults may resist further education because they feel powerless to advance due to local elites but would welcome it in conjunction with a move to an urban area with perceived economic opportunities. Unfortunately, the urban economy is seldom sufficient to absorb the migrants. Post-literacy progress may be supported by responsive media such as locally relevant radio broadcasts, rural newspapers, and books in convenient locations (Behrstock 1981; Cory 1980; Ginsburg and Arias-Godinez 1984; Gunther and Theroux 1977; Kasoma 1982; Ryan 1985).

In more technologically advanced countries, there are similar dynamics regarding literacy education. Practitioners confront decisions regarding definitions, benefits, resources, and priori-

ties. Functional literacy and numeracy constitute the threshold required to function in the major adult roles in a country. Compared with the equivalent of three or four years of primary education in technologically less developed countries, the threshold of functional literacy in the United States is equivalent to about the minimum for high school graduation. About one-third of the adult population of the United States and many other technologically developed countries is below this threshold and thus functionally illiterate or semi-illiterate. In a society that is predominantly literate, there is a stigma associated with being an illiterate adult.

There are several explanations for the number of adults who are undereducated in technologically advanced nations. Included are such factors as a large number of immigrants, inadequate schools, and older adults with less formal education. Criteria for evaluating success of literacy education are important for decisions by practitioners and for interpreting multiple benefits to the many publics whose support is important to literacy education. National commitment reflects the economic and political climate, and such commitment has usually been insufficient to allocate sufficient resources to reduce illiteracy greatly. Past support reflects a combination of economic and humanitarian motives. Broadcasting can contribute to increased public awareness and policy support. The approaches and impact of the British Broadcasting Company in the United Kingdom and Project PLUS in the United States have been similar. Generally, media impact has been small because it focuses on events such as human interest stories, with little detail on causes of the problem or the need for program assistance (Charnley and Jones 1979; Limage 1986; Thomas 1983).

In many countries, counseling and information services help attract and retain participants in adult continuing education programs. This is especially important for the undereducated who are least served. The initiative for such services has been mainly local to help all adults choose from available educational opportunities. In Sweden adult education recruiters contact undereducated adults where they work and live. Counseling functions include giving information about educational and career opportunities, assessment, career planning, and referrals.

Information services are performed by administrators, teachers, and public information specialists. In technologically less developed countries, adult education programs and related counseling services tend to be concentrated on categories of adults whose personal development has high priority in national development plans. Examples include very young adults, illiterates, and people interested in occupations in which there are severe shortages. In more technologically developed countries, a higher proportion and a more representative cross-section of the adult population participate in part-time educational programs. In all settings, most counseling is provided informally by people who are not professional counselors. Such services are provided by a variety of organizations, and counseling services for less advantaged adults are inadequate. In developed countries, adult education programs emphasize personal development and postsecondary instruction. In less developed countries, adult education tends to be closely associated with national development goals such as literacy, health, vocational education, community development, family planning, and agricultural reform. The societal context also affects the ways in which counseling and information services are provided. In less developed countries, the extended family performs many functions, such as assistance with planning and help with coping with related problems, that in more developed countries are sometimes performed by counseling personnel (Farmer, Knox, and Farmer 1977; Frischkopf and Braun 1981).

Following are some of the implications for using an understanding of societal influences to strengthen procedures for attracting participants to adult basic education programs in the United States:

- Based on descriptive accounts, extent of illiteracy is underestimated, especially in more technologically developed countries where there is a stigma to being illiterate because illiteracy is assumed to be unusual and a personal failing.

- Identification of a threshold of functional literacy helps define the literate and semi-illiterate population, clarify benefits, and select effective incentives and procedures to help undereducated adults learn.

- Literacy and numeracy are two aspects of basic education that in turn enable undereducated adults to pursue occupational development and further education.

- Interest of undereducated adults in educational participation can be stimulated by local teachers and counselors, active recruitment, programs that will be of direct benefit, opportunities to use new learnings, co-sponsorship by groups to which the adults belong, and availability of post-literacy activities.

- Attracting and retaining undereducated adults depends on being responsive to the distinctive needs of such adults.

- Increasing the literacy level depends on strong elementary education for children as well as adult basic education.

- Counseling and information services can help undereducated adults make occupational and educational plans.

Campaigns

In September 1986, the educational community and a commercial television network in the United States launched a joint year-long campaign to increase public awareness of adult illiteracy and to attract participants and volunteer staff to adult basic education programs. Many organizations associated with adult literacy efforts cooperated with the campaign, especially by welcoming the participants and volunteers who were attracted. In recent years the federal government has maintained a stable level of funding for adult basic education, but has publicized the illiteracy problem and encouraged private assistance. A few years ago, the BBC made a similar contribution to a literacy campaign in the United Kingdom.

Since 1960, about 50 adult education campaigns worldwide have focused on literacy, health, or agriculture. Many of the campaigns were conducted by newly independent nations. Most of them failed (Bock and Papagiannis 1983; Dave, Perera, and Ouane 1985; Duke 1985; Hopkins 1986; Noor 1982). However, a few campaigns succeeded, such as those in the USSR years ago and more recently in China, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Tanzania. Reported reasons for successful campaigns include a centralized government that can commit resources and coordinate efforts, a revolutionary political and economic climate, and rising expectations regarding the benefits of literacy. For example, the success of the Tanzanian literacy campaign was attributed to several factors: political party ideology in support of education for self-reliance, sound development goals that included adult education, and strong coordination with an adult education directorate and cooperation from various ministries, voluntary associations, and district adult education officers. Other influences were major financial support (including more than 10 percent of the education budget devoted to adult education) and attention to the continuum of education so that the newly literate adults could progress to post-literacy and higher education opportunities (Dave, Perera, and Ouane 1985). In the Cuban and Nicaraguan campaigns, one reason that women were so central was that literacy and their own liberation were connected.

Campaign results reflect multiple positive and negative influences (Bock and Papagiannis 1983; Dave, Perera, and Ouane 1985; Walker, Ahori, and Paulston 1983; Wells 1985). Successful campaigns have occurred in various types of political and economic systems. For example, in many countries, national government commitment to greater equity and unity, combined with administrative decentralization, helped generate adequate resources in part from local community support. By contrast, in USSR and in Turkey centralized approaches worked well. Perception of the adequacy of resources reflects financial support but also morale and fervor (Duke 1985). Cooperation by various ministries, enterprises, religious groups, and social networks provides both tangible and intangible support such as money, experts, volunteers, facilities, materials, and encouragement. Rural and urban settings each have their own distinctive pattern of influences (Walker, Ahori, and Paulston 1983). Relevant content and methods encourage participation, and post-literacy opportunities help maintain the momentum (Dave, Perera, and Ouane 1985; Duke 1985; Malmquist 1980; Walker, Ahori, and Paulston 1983).

International assistance can be beneficial, but it can also have undesirable results that are not considered at the outset. Swedish assistance contributed to the establishment of folk development colleges in Tanzania, but most of them did not fare well afterwards (Dave, Perera, and Ouane 1985). A foreign gift of a printing press in Zimbabwe was a mixed blessing when it was stopped for months waiting for replacement parts (Walker, Ahori, and Paulston 1983).

Negative influences also abound in reports from a number of campaigns, many of which failed because illiterate adults did not want to participate and literate adults did not volunteer to help (Noor 1982). Even when national governments support a literacy campaign because the benefits for modernization exceed the costs associated with discontent and rising expectations, the major pressure may be on local elites (Bock and Papagiannis 1983). National and local elites tend to be urban, use written communications in a national language, and anticipate benefits from economic development. As a result, many are not in touch with local outlooks. By contrast, the mass of illiterate adults are rural, depend on oral communications in different languages, and have little interest in national economic development goals. Some may even realize that so-called modernization may mean loss of self-sufficiency in a cash economy. When elites are threatened by adult education they often try to co-opt it (Bock and Papagiannis 1983; Dave, Perera, and Ouane 1985). Major political or economic events can interrupt the continuity of financial support upon which a major campaign depends (Bock and Papagiannis 1983; Duke 1985; Walker, Ahori, and Paulston 1983).

Thus, many illiterate adults, especially those who are poorest and least educated, resist educational participation (Bock and Papagiannis 1983; Duke 1985). The poorest confront the strongest survival pressures. Attrition reflects preoccupation with work. Often, women are not actively sought as participants and their participation is discouraged by family members and societal stereotypes. Literacy campaigns suffer when there is little fit with vocational education, work opportunities, or other attractive applications (Duke 1985). The result is that many campaigns accomplish little to increase literacy, reduce poverty, promote economic development, or help undereducated adults to function better.

What does all this mean for adult education campaigns in the United States? The following implications are suggested.

- The media can raise expectations, but progress depends on program capability. Successful use of mass media in some campaigns elsewhere indicates that media use can be further developed as part of campaigns in the United States.

- Because most successful campaigns included centralized government and ideological commitment, mass campaigns are less likely to succeed in the United States. (However, the U.K. campaign was successful.)

- Limited campaigns may succeed if there is broad collaboration among providers and local contributions and benefits.

- Voluntary associations can be a major asset as they have been in some other countries. In the United States, increased proportions of working mothers have reduced the number of young homemakers who act as volunteers. As a result it is important also to attract men and older adults as volunteers.

- It is important to recognize and try to gain cooperation from the groups most likely to resist further education for undereducated adults.

- Attention to the continuum of education and to opportunities for application of newly acquired knowledge as well as emphasis on the benefits of further education for participants and society can help build support for campaign procedures and results.

Staffing

In addition to learners, materials, and money, one of the main ingredients that adult continuing education programs obtain from the larger society is staff—usually part-time instructors and full-time administrators. Increasingly, adult continuing education practitioners receive inservice education. This is crucial because there is little preservice education and many people who help adult learners are part time, much as the learners are.

During the past half century in the United States, university graduate programs have provided preparation for tens of thousands of adult continuing education practitioners, and have contributed to the knowledge base for doing so. For the millions of other practitioners, local providers and professional associations have provided staff development in a specialized segment of the field such as adult basic education, agricultural extension, training and development, or continuing professional education. By contrast, university graduate programs in the United States and Canada with a specialization in adult education have emphasized commonalities and relationships across the entire field. Recent writings have clarified major proficiency areas of adult continuing education instructors and administrators, along with pertinent knowledge resources (Knox 1979). Overviews of the process of helping adults learn are helpful to instructors and to coordinators who orient and assist them (Brown and Copeland 1979; Knox 1986).

A recent international overview of this topic was provided by a special issue of *Convergence* on "Training of Trainers and Adult Educators," edited by Boshier (1985). The sections of the special issue on various regions of the world report distinctive societal influences on inservice education of practitioners. In both these sections and in the introduction of the special issue, there are reports of major and growing interest in this topic, including attendance at international conferences to learn about professional development of practitioners from colleagues in other countries. The following highlights from the sections of this special issue indicate distinctive societal influences that were reported.

In the People's Republic of China, major political, technological, and cultural modernization has included expansion of adult education and concomitant attention to training of adult education leaders. Such developments in a major commercial center such as Shanghai contrast with those in

rural areas of China. Specialized university programs for adult education practitioners have not developed as they have in other parts of the world. Instead, leader training has been didactic and mainly conducted by providers for their staff members. In recent years, there has been great interest in learning about adult education in other countries. Staff development for large and rapidly expanding numbers of part-time adult education instructors is conducted by a small number of supervisors with long experience in the field, augmented by an increasing number of new supervisors who are becoming familiar with the program along with the instructors. These trends very much reflect increasing international influences and the expansion of adult education as a part of modernization since the cultural revolution.

In Africa, until newly independent countries established professional associations and university specializations concerned with adult education, much of professional development for practitioners was provided by external organizations such as Unesco or the German Adult Education Association (DVV). In recent years, such professional development has been conducted mainly by local associations, universities, and providers. Adult education leaders in major administrative positions typically obtain formal education in fields other than adult education, are in such positions for short assignments before they move on to other positions, and receive little training about adult education. Most professional development activities are for practitioners in middle-level positions who tend to be long-term and full-time supervisors of adult education. They are the main participants in university diploma programs with a specialization in adult education, which are typically practical. Those who attend programs overseas have to adapt what they learn to their situation when they return (Fox and Mutangira 1985). Most of the people who work in the local adult education programs are part time or short term, and they usually have little specialized preparation or staff development. Two general concerns are the relatively small proportion of women practitioners and unsatisfactory program coordination. There are also a number of program approaches from which to select. Major influences on the professionalization of adult education staff have been the expansion of adult education, an increasing knowledge base, staff interest in advancement and recognition, and staff awareness of the importance of learning about adult education in other countries.

In the Arab countries, a few practitioners go abroad to study adult education, but local universities offer few such study opportunities. Professional development for practitioners has been provided by national training centers and by Unesco. Thus, most local practitioners receive little special preparation. It has been especially difficult to train large numbers of literacy teachers for mass campaigns.

In eastern Europe, following World War II, few practitioners were considered to have satisfactory background and ideological beliefs to guide the rapid expansion of adult education required for social, political, and economic transformation. Some of the universities, especially in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Yugoslavia, responded to the need for research and training for adult education as a part of national planning (Kulich 1977). Education for adult education practitioners was a human resource development approach to increase the number of specialists to guide ideological and technological development in the adult population generally. In the more pluralistic nations of western Europe, volunteerism characterized adult education and most professional development was local. Until the past decade or two most universities were little involved with professional development for adult education practitioners. However, many relationships among the European Economic Community generally contributed to interactions among adult education practitioners in those countries.

Broad similarities among the Nordic countries, along with cooperation fostered by the Nordic Council, have contributed to professional development for adult education practitioners. Except in Finland where there were pioneering efforts, university study is a recent source of professional

development. Associations and other adult education providers have conducted much of the staff development. Legislation has been an influence. The 1968 Danish legislation resulted in certification courses for adult education teachers, whereas the 1976 Norwegian legislation left such staff development more voluntary.

In Latin America, CREFAL (the Unesco Regional Adult Education Training Center in Mexico), along with national ministries of education, has provided professional development activities for practitioners, mainly those associated with tax-supported programs. Independent popular education programs with their strong orientation toward social change have conducted separate staff development. The Caribbean island nations have approached professional development of adult education practitioners regionally. Major assistance has been provided by the University of the West Indies, with cooperation from CARCAE (the regional association affiliated with the International Council for Adult Education) and the German Adult Education Association. Shorey (1983) noted the need for greater acceptance and government support for training practitioners.

Most Australians live in urban areas and more than half of the total work force is unionized. Thus, the 1972 authorization of trade union training contributed to the professional development of people engaged in labor education (Davies and Horton 1986). The Department of Continuing Education of the University of New England in New South Wales, located in Armidale but having a strong distance education program, has been a major source of professional development for practitioners in Australia and the entire region.

In India, several regional universities have strong adult education programs. Given the distinctive characteristics of each state, regional universities help local practitioners apply professional knowledge to their situation. For example, a book on adult learning can combine research findings from various countries with guidelines for application to rural development along with case examples (Jayagopal 1985).

During the past decade, international conferences on continuing professional education have enabled practitioners to learn from counterparts in other national settings. Several such international conferences have been held for practitioners engaged in continuing education for engineers. The first international conference on continuing medical education was held in the fall of 1986 in Palm Springs, California. A similar conference on continuing education for librarians was held in the summer of 1985 near Chicago, Illinois (Horne 1985). Conference attendees gained a broader world perspective by learning about the contribution of the Carnegie Foundation to continuing education for librarians in Nigeria and the contribution of a university in Senegal to the continuing education of librarians in many French-speaking countries in West Africa.

The foregoing highlights regarding training of adult educators in many areas of the world have some implications for professional development of practitioners in the United States.

- In recent decades there has been a major increase in tested knowledge related to the practice of adult education. University departments with an adult education specialization have been one major source of this growing professional knowledge base, but many other disciplines contribute also. Although Finland, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the United States, West Germany, and Yugoslavia have been major sources of such research, there is an increasing amount of pertinent new knowledge from other parts of the world.

- Most practitioners anywhere receive little professional development assistance. Most are part-time volunteers who receive little help. Some full-time practitioners in midlevel supervisory roles receive inservice education from their provider organization and from

an association that tends to be specific to their segment of the field. A small proportion of practitioners complete university diploma or degree programs that emphasize the broad field of adult education. These practitioners can be especially valuable sources of inservice education for the great majority of part-time staff volunteers.

- Collaboration between universities and associations can be especially valuable for learning and application because of the university's access to organized knowledge and the association's access to members. Practitioners' participation in university-based offerings reflects both interest in advancement and perception of the value of university contributions.

- Practitioners are more likely to accept professional development assistance if they have a sense of mission, an awareness of career opportunities, and a willingness to pursue professional growth. All three of these can be enhanced if practitioners understand major areas of professional proficiency. Practitioners can compare such desirable proficiencies with their current knowledge, skills, and attitudes to recognize their most important professional development needs.

- Most educational programs for adults experience periods of rapid expansion, which may be associated with a political change, economic expansion, the end of a war, or a mass literacy campaign. During such periods it is especially difficult to recruit and train a sufficient number of local instructors, which compounds the need for more well-trained leaders. Such staff development for midlevel practitioners deserves emphasis in strategic planning for programs likely to expand rapidly.

- There are many ways to assist the professional growth of practitioners, including publications and conferences. Guidelines for conducting effective educational programs for adults generally apply to staff development programs also.

- As noted for the Nordic, European, and Caribbean regions, international interaction generally promotes exchange among adult education practitioners. Worldwide, there is a recent growth of international exchange among practitioners and an interest in continuing interaction in the future. In the past, most practitioners in the United States have been largely unaware of how adult education is practiced in other parts of the world, but interest and activity in this area have increased dramatically during the past decade.

- As noted regarding the University of the West Indies, the University of New England, and a university in Senegal (and as illustrated historically by the University of London and Teachers College, Columbia University), an institution with expertise and vision can contribute to practitioners far beyond its usual borders. During the past decade, some U.S. university departments with a specialization in adult continuing education have greatly increased their attention to international comparative education.

Clientele

Most adult continuing education providers serve various categories of adult learners and could serve others as well. However, some types of clients are more difficult to reach than others. Decisions about which client populations deserve highest priority reflect in part the mission and resources of the provider organization. In addition to desirability, practitioners also consider feasibility (Kasworm 1983). Societal influences affect educational needs, the ease with which select populations are attracted and the procedures most likely to attract and serve them.

The following review is focused on rural women, recipients of health education, and local citizens concerned with community problem solving. Examples are drawn from the Caribbean, Finland, France, India, Japan, Nigeria, Peru, Portugal, and Swaziland.

There are many societal influences on participation by rural women in educational activities related to literacy, occupation, health, family life, and community development. Some influences deter participation, some encourage it, and some, such as migration from rural to urban areas, do both (Ellis 1984). Negative influences include discouragement by leaders (Neves 1982), restrictions of family responsibilities and traditional expectations (Bird 1975; Kekkonen 1979; Nxumalo 1982), and the perceived irrelevance of formal education (Ellis 1984). Positive influences include supportive activities by opinion leaders (Nxumalo 1982), appreciation of the central social and economic roles of rural women (Ellis 1984; Kamfwa 1982; Nxumalo 1982), availability of nonformal education that is relevant and useful (Ellis 1984), and financial assistance, such as for the purchase of sewing machines to initiate cottage industry (Nxumalo 1982). Recognition of these competing influences can help to tip the balance to foster participation.

Some societal influences also affect the educational process. Examples include subject matter content and materials that do not perpetuate negative stereotypes of women's roles (Bhasin 1984), arrangements to enlist assistance from more educated women to work with poor women in isolated rural areas (Neves 1982), assistance by experts to provide staff development and encouragement to practitioners to spend enough time effectively in rural areas to have an impact, and a level of national and international assistance that makes the foregoing activities possible (Nxumalo 1982).

Additional influences affect intended and actual outcomes. For example, one reason that many programs fail to reach the poorest and least educated is that some of them have been socialized to prefer traditional roles and relationships (Nxumalo 1982). Thus, consciousness raising is very important.

The foregoing review has emphasized similar influences across rural areas of various developing countries. However, a cross-national difference is that the number and kind of educational opportunities for women are much greater in some countries than in others. Both optimism and advancement are more likely where adult education addresses basic concerns about poverty, hunger, and exploitation and results in consciousness raising and economic development (Bhasin 1984; Neves 1982). Further impetus occurs when there are realistic targets and relevant development programs from which women benefit (Bhasin 1984; Ellis 1984). If participation results in empowerment and progress to desirable educational and occupational activities, other local women are likely to follow (Bhasin 1984; Bird 1975).

Health education, with an emphasis on prevention and wellness, may be especially important for rural women, but health is important to everyone, and there are important societal influences at both the national and local levels. The achievement of health and wellness is an individual and family responsibility, but experts can help. A deceptively simple objective such as a satisfactory water supply illustrates how important it is to involve local adults in finding a satisfactory solution that outside experts can help to identify and achieve (Barrow 1981; Clark 1980).

Health issues often entail resolving conflict between traditional local customs and modern practices. This is illustrated by the practice of respectfully including traditional midwives in a new hospital so that it will attract rural women. This allows the clinic to identify and treat potential health problems as well as provide maternal and child health education. When many people are illiterate, practitioners can use nationally produced posters, puppets, and recorded songs as teaching methods (Osuhor and Osuhor 1978).

Community development projects aim at citizen participation for community problem solving. However, there are many potential sources of resistance. For example, with Swedish assistance, a participatory action research approach was used in northern Portugal. Although the project was successful and local participants took an active role, there were problems. National leaders were reluctant to allocate sufficient money and decentralize control. Some local groups resisted, and some university personnel questioned the methods (Erasmie, Lima, and Pereira 1984).

Some community development projects are more decentralized. They begin with local initiatives to solve a problem, then add educational activities. In Peru, practitioners were responsive to local concerns and used a tradition of volunteer labor for community improvement to build a community marketing center for produce. A technical university and an international organization provided assistance. Adult education was an adjunct and outcome of a self-help project (Zabala 1982).

Adult civic education in Japan reflects great national similarity of race and language, as well as a long feudal agricultural tradition and strong family solidarity. Recent economic growth and urbanization have produced social disorganization. A group work approach to social education for adults through public halls has encouraged cooperation and voluntary work beyond the extended family. This effort also contributed to increased international understanding, which is important because of Japan's international economy (Yamaguchi 1986).

Other hard-to-reach clientele groups have been addressed, such as blue-collar shift workers (Kekkonen 1979) and older adults (Radcliffe 1982; Sekiguchi 1984). In each instance, practitioners were urged to provide programs that fit the client's preferred location, timing, content, and learning style. Such recognition is especially important when the background and life-style of practitioners differ markedly from those of the clientele.

The foregoing review of efforts to serve various client groups reflects difficult decisions regarding which categories of adults a program should serve. It also shows some of the typical conflicting pressures that occur when working with a hard-to-reach clientele. Following are some implications for practitioners in the United States:

- In each instance, multiple local, national, and international influences reflect value judgments about what is desirable. The variety of adult education providers and opportunities available in the United States tends to obscure the fact that such judgments are being made. One reason for the low participation rates by underserved adults is the lack of fit with their aspirations and life-style. Practitioners can analyze the assumptions and beliefs of each category of people who have a stake in the success or failure of a program as a way to recognize major value judgments and then build on those that are supportive and minimize those that are not.

- In most countries, practitioners value responsiveness to adult learners' concerns, needs, and preference for self-help. However, reasonable adults differ in the value they place on traditional and modern practices. Furthermore, adults want opportunities to apply what they learn to achieve progress as they define it. This suggests program attention to ends as well as means.

- National and international assistance can increase program responsiveness by minimizing barriers to participation and addressing social issues, beginning with the points at which they affect participants. Adult education market research and emphasis on needs assessment should be supplemented by context analysis.

- Education means change. Successful change is likely to disrupt relationships and produce resistance. The above review noted both local and national sources of resistance. Adult education programs for illiterates, rural women, or industrial workers in the United States will raise aspirations, encourage changes in performance, and result in resistance from both participants and the people around them. Practitioners can plan programs that include attention to dealing with such resistance.

- Societal stereotypes and opinion leaders influence adults' aspirations and efforts to grow. Conflicting pressures may be apparent in an educational program, but some may be apparent only to individual participants. Analysis of such conflicting values can be part of an educational program when they seem crucial to learning and application. The result may be combinations of seemingly disparate approaches such as narrowly technical and broad general education.

Pluralism

Perhaps the predominant characteristic of educational programs for adults in the United States is pluralism. In a large and varied country, many types of providers offer a great variety of programs. There is little overall coordination. When cooperation among providers does occur, it tends to be voluntary. Programs are typically decentralized, and there is no one predominant type of provider. Work-related adult education accounts for less than half of participation, but more than half of funding. Voluntary associations are widespread providers. Minorities receive low to moderate attention through subsidized programs. In voluntary and fee-supported programs, participation rates are highest for adults with the most education (Levine 1975). Although specific programs reflect distinctive values, no broad national ideology guides adult continuing education generally. This characterization seems to reflect a society in which individualism outweighs a sense of community (Bellah et al. 1985).

This section reviews societal influences associated with pluralism of adult education in technologically developed countries of Europe, along with Canada and Australia. The selected countries are sufficiently similar to the United States to provide a useful basis for analysis of this feature of adult education. The review touches on aspects of geography, decentralization, minorities, labor unions, predominant adult education programs, voluntary associations, occupational programs, and ideology.

The geography of each country, including terrain, climate, and borders, affects the general climate including that of adult education. For example, large areas with sparse population affect adult education for the people who live there and for providers who seek to serve them. Space is a social cost. This is illustrated by the northern parts of Norway, Sweden, Finland, and Canada, by the center of Australia, and by the high altitudes of Switzerland. Distance education or local study circles may be a response, especially during the winter (Jourdan 1981; Peterson et al. 1982; Royce 1970). Australia's distance from Europe gave rise to the tradition of 3-month leaves every 10 years for professional workers for purposes of study abroad.

Programs are somewhat decentralized because they occur locally, but political subdivisions can create a generalized decentralization and division of responsibility among national, state (province, lander, canton), and local (municipal, county) levels. Federations have this structure. For example, the United Kingdom includes four countries, which have some separate traditions and arrangements regarding adult education even though there is much cooperation. Other countries with decentralized responsibility for education at the level of states (also called lander or provinces) include the Federal Republic of Germany, Switzerland, Canada, and Australia. In many of

these countries and in Ireland, concern is expressed about the responsibility for adult education being divided among many national departments or ministries (Jourdan 1981; Peterson et al. 1982). This diversity of laws and other arrangements among states can result in lack of responsiveness and inequality of opportunities.

Most countries have subpopulations, which has implications for adult education. Sometimes, a minority represents the vestige of the indigenous population, such as the Aborigines in central Australia, the native Americans in Canada, and the Laplanders in northern Scandinavia. A commitment to self-management by such minorities can raise questions about the extent to which they should set standards for educational development and procedures. Some times multiple languages must be accommodated, as in Switzerland, Finland, Yugoslavia, the United Kingdom, and Canada. Countries with much immigration typically try to promote assimilation, and adult education for coping and naturalization has been widespread. Examples of countries with large numbers of foreign or immigrant workers include the United Kingdom, France, Canada, and Australia (Jourdan 1981; Peterson et al. 1982). Most have developed substantial adult education programs to help immigrants and foreign workers cope with the adjustment.

Providing adult education to labor unions or the equivalent reflects the strength of the labor movement in a country and is part of the ideology in countries such as the Soviet Union and the German Democratic Republic. It is reflected in labor-oriented legislation and programs in countries such as Australia, Canada, Italy, Sweden, and the United Kingdom (De Sanctis 1977; Jourdan 1981; Peterson et al. 1982; Schuller and Robertson 1983).

Each of these countries has many quasi-independent providers. All include educational institutions that provide educational opportunities for adults. Many countries, including Finland, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Netherlands, Ireland, and Canada, have various voluntary associations that provide adult education. Znanie, an association for popular education, serves a similar function in the Soviet Union. A nongovernmental society, Znanie depends on fees paid by learners instead of government funds. A voluntary association brings together adults with similar interests to which educational programs can respond (Jourdan 1981; Peterson et al. 1982; Royce 1970). The case of Sweden illustrates collaboration between government and associations. The national government provides financial subsidy for adult education provided by associations (within broad guidelines), but allows the associations great independence regarding content. This arrangement reflects a government commitment to easily accessible adult education to achieve greater equity and democracy, with special attention to the undereducated. About 10 percent of the national education budget in Sweden goes to adult education. Each year, subsidized study circles serve 3 million out of a total adult population of about 5 million. The study circles help to achieve understanding and consensus on public issues that inform citizens and government alike.

In only a few of these countries is there a predominant adult education provider or organization. In the Federal Republic of Germany these are the Volkshochschule, each of which is a local adult education agency. In the USSR it is the Znanie. In the United Kingdom, the Local Education Authority (LEA) is in a partnership that includes the central government, universities, and voluntary agencies.

The influence of adult education on many countries' economic productivity was reflected in the early 1970s by legislation that provided financial support for training and retraining of workers. The arrangements included special training programs in cooperation with employers, paid educational leave, recurrent education, and educational funds to reimburse workers for work-related education. Such developments occurred in Sweden, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and Canada. In the USSR, there are varied arrangements to

monitor employer attention to workers' education and to provide educational opportunities. These arrangements include paid leave to take courses and to prepare for exams (Charnley 1975; Flude and Parrott 1979; Jourdan 1981; Peterson et al. 1982; Rubenson 1977).

In some countries, strong policies in support of adult education reflect a widely shared ideology regarding how this serves national goals. In the USSR, Znanie gives attention to ideology and science education for adults. Ideology is a strong ingredient in workers' rights to study leaves of their choosing in Italy (De Sanctis 1977). Ideology is also reflected in government commitment to equality in Sweden and Norway, as evidenced by legislation and program subsidy designed to increase equality of opportunity.

The foregoing review reflects the pluralism that characterizes adult continuing education in some technologically advanced countries. The remainder of this section discusses pluralism as an influence on adult education in the United States and includes implications for practitioners here.

The large size and regional diversity of the United States may obscure urban/rural influences on adult education, even though mass media and geographic mobility have reduced urban/rural cultural differences. In recent decades, economic and educational progress in the southern states is reducing former north/south differences. Recent immigration has affected states such as Florida, Texas, and California especially, but most new arrivals have gone on to many other states. Sparse population in rural areas has been a reason for distance education, but so have other deterrents such as handicaps and work or family responsibilities. Satisfactory transportation, such as all-weather roads for agriculture or tourism, minimizes weather as a deterrent. Geographic influences on participation in the United States appear to be less important than socioeconomic ones.

Many independent providers conduct a great variety of adult continuing education programs each year that serve about 40 percent of the adult population. If self-study projects are added, about 80 percent of adults participate. This reflects a pluralistic blend of public and private mixed economy, including private enterprise, government, separate religious traditions, and voluntary associations. No type of adult education provider is predominant. An unusually large higher education establishment, including community colleges, absorbs about half of the high school graduates each year. About half of the students enrolled in higher education credit and degree programs are adults who generally attend part time. The numbers of adults engaged in noncredit continuing higher education are much larger. The proportion of adults has increased as the numbers of high school graduates have declined and the size and average educational level of the adult population have increased. About as many adults engage in adult religious education as in continuing higher education. The numbers of adults engaged in employee education and training (private, government, military) are even larger, and the expenditures are comparable to those for the total of all formal higher education for young people. In addition, all types of organizations and institutions conduct adult education programs, and there are examples of adult education by each type of provider throughout this country. There is no predominant type of provider. Generally, at least five or six providers serve small towns, and in large cities there are thousands. This is an extraordinarily pluralistic arrangement.

Most educational programs for adults are decentralized. Each of the states has a central function as part of a federal system of publicly financed programs such as adult basic education, the Cooperative Extension Service, and the Job Training Partnership Act (and its predecessors). Even national voluntary, trade, and professional associations are typically organized by state or region. Large corporations delegate most responsibility for education and training to local divisions and departments, with the immediate supervisor in a central role.

Most cooperation among adult continuing education providers is voluntary, although some legislation and administrative guidelines urge such cooperation. Most programs function independently, as reflects a tradition of individualism, pluralism, and competition. Most instances of cooperation among providers occur because practitioners conclude that the benefits of collaboration are greater than the costs. Such cooperation is encouraged by personal acquaintance with practitioners from other providers, which occurs through membership in national, state, and local associations of adult continuing education practitioners.

The United States is composed of minorities from throughout the world. Some are less advantaged than others. A priority of many adult education providers and practitioners has been greater equity and access. However, most programs are voluntary, and higher proportions of the more advantaged adults participate than of the less advantaged. The native American Indians are among the most neglected, in part due to conflicting efforts either to preserve their ethnic tradition or to absorb it. Black Americans have made social gains during the past generation, but average levels of formal education are still lower than those for whites. For all types of adult education combined, participation rates for blacks and whites are comparable for adults at similar levels of formal education. Although blacks and Indians are among the implicit audiences for adult basic education, about half of the participants are undereducated whites. Specific legislation and funding have supported English as a second language and other adult education programs for immigrants, especially Hispanic and Asian.

Work-related educational and training programs for adults constitute about half of the field, based on enrollments. However, program length and funding tend to be greater than for other major program areas such as adult religious education and leisure education. As noted earlier, expenditures by employers for all kinds for employee education are comparable to expenditures for higher education for young people. Because almost all adult education participation and finances reflect supply and demand as adults voluntarily decide to enroll and providers respond, the profile of participation reflects the free market, and not public policy.

No explicit national public policy or ideology guides priorities for adult continuing education in the United States. Specific legislation and programs do seek to serve target populations, such as rural residents, illiterates, immigrants, or the unemployed. This reflects an implicit belief in equity and assistance to less advantaged adults. An implicit ideology values a pluralistic society and volunteerism. The national mixed economy of government and free enterprise is reflected in adult continuing education. However, there are few incentives to provide educational programs for adults that build a sense of community, strengthen democracy, and help citizens exercise public responsibility. In contrast, countries such as Sweden and Yugoslavia have done so. What societal influences could be harnessed by American practitioners to strengthen this aspect of the field? Rates of largely voluntary annual adult education participation of all kinds range from about 5 percent by adults with little formal education to about 20 percent for high school graduates to about 50 percent for adults who have completed a master's degree or more. Contrary to our ideology as practitioners, the result is to widen the gap between the haves and the have nots. What could we learn from Sweden or other countries that have tried to use adult education as a tool of public policy to promote greater equity and democracy?

Higher Education

Colleges and universities can contribute to adult continuing education in at least two ways. One is as a provider of educational opportunities for the public. The second is as an organization that conducts research, evaluation, and professional development opportunities for practitioners, which may contribute directly to planning. Each of these functions is subject to societal influences.

There are differing views of the centrality of adult continuing education within higher education (Kallen 1980; Kulich and Kruger 1980; Smethurst 1982; Williams 1977). This range of views includes the relative emphasis on continuing education of adults of various ages who typically study part time, compared with the preparatory education of young students who typically study full time. It also includes the relative emphasis on study in the standard credit and degree program, compared with a variety of noncredit programs. In the United States, about half of the higher education degree students are adults who study part time, and many times that number participate in noncredit continuing higher education programs. Continuing higher education is one of the largest segments of the broad field of adult continuing education, along with education and training programs that employers provide for employees and adult religious education.

By contrast, in some regions of the world, such as Latin America or the Middle East, most higher education institutions do little continuing education. In some developing countries, the extension division of the university may receive only a small portion of the budget even though it serves more than half the students (Gordon 1979). In the United Kingdom, where universities have been one of the major continuing education providers, continuing higher education programs through extension evolved in very similar ways and were affected in similar ways during a recession. Other influences during the period included high levels of unemployment, especially for young adults; the population cohort bulge moving through; and organizational changes in higher education.

In contrast to past funding practices for higher education in which government support was not tied to curricular emphasis (which reflected multiple influences), recent declines in tax subsidy have resulted in several program changes. One was an increase in fees paid by learners (which affected the clientele) and a change in criteria for the types of programs to continue to receive subsidy. A by-product was increased competition among university departments that provided continuing education. Thus, reductions in government support for continuing higher education affected program offerings in ways that in retrospect seem predictable (Armstrong 1985).

More generally in Europe, policies established by governments and enterprises regarding recurrent education and paid educational leave affect relations between university preparatory education of young people and continuing education of adults. Part of the rationale for recurrent education concerned the rigidity and inequality of preparatory education, and the assumption that postponement of preparatory higher education was desirable for young adults and for society. Recurrent education proposals increased the conflict between practitioners engaged in preparatory education and those in continuing education, especially at a time of declining enrollment and financial and societal support for preparatory higher education (Blaug and Mace 1977).

In addition to providing adult continuing education, higher education institutions can also assist other types of adult education providers with research and evaluation, professional development for practitioners, and materials development. In many countries, a few universities have established, or cooperate with, degree programs or research institutes specializing in adult continuing education. A few countries, such as the United States, have established such programs for study and research in a large number of institutions. One function that such programs perform is to help practitioners improve local programs by adapting concepts and practices from elsewhere to fit local circumstances. Practitioners offer both undergraduate and graduate programs in some countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom (Rooth 1980). A widespread complaint is that little of the adult education research is relevant to local practitioners (Grossi 1984). Even in countries with more relevant research findings, there are many impediments to dissemination and use.

Following are some implications for practitioners:

- Economic conditions and social traditions affect the extent and type of continuing higher education. The extent of continuing higher education tends to be higher in the United States, Europe, the USSR, and Africa than it is in Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East.

- In many countries, there is concern about insufficient assistance in the form of research, evaluation, materials, and professional development from universities to other adult education providers.

General Implications

The foregoing overview indicates societal influences on strategic planning for adult continuing education in some major regions of the world. Although some of these dynamics are unusual, some widespread themes seem apparent. Following are some implications for adult continuing education strategic planning:

- Because of the pluralistic nature of adult continuing education in most countries, strategic planning for the field depends on concerted initiatives by all adult education leaders. The success of planning and implementation depends on broad involvement by key leaders from within and outside of the field.

- Each country has concerns about both stability (to build on valued traditions) and change (to advance national development). Responsive educational programs for adults seek to serve such multiple goals. Environmental scanning and broad participation in planning can contribute to consensus. This runs contrary to typical approaches in the United States that value pluralism and responsiveness, not collaborative planning.

- Occupational advancement and productivity have received increased emphasis as a goal of adult education in recent decades in most parts of the world, especially Europe, Africa, and Asia.

- The greater emphasis in other countries on adult continuing education for national unity and sense of community addresses the concern expressed by Bellah et al. (1985) regarding overemphasis on individualism and underemphasis on community in the United States.

- As exemplified by Sweden, equity and democracy have been emphasized as adult education goals in some countries, but to be achieved they require deliberate policies and subsidy.

- In most countries an oral tradition of informal adult education can be a valuable adjunct to other types of educational activities by adults.

- Some of the countries with centralized systems have achieved closer coordination between preparatory and continuing education than is typical in pluralistic systems.

- In almost all countries, some amount of decentralized decision making by local adult education practitioners is viewed as a program strength. This is even occurring in the USSR.

- In most parts of the world, but especially in Latin America and the Middle East, national policy makers perceive adult education as having little impact on achieving national goals. This image is also reflected in funding issues in many European countries.

- In some countries, the lack of extensive adult participation in voluntary associations affects attraction to adult education. The strategies that are used to overcome this participation barrier in other countries may have implications for doing so in the United States.

- Availability of well-prepared adult education practitioners depends on incentives and professional development activities by providers, associations, and universities. The lack of able and credible practitioners was noted as a major weakness in various countries, especially in Latin America and the Middle East.

- Desirable qualities of adult education administrators include commitment to lifelong learning goals, ability to muster resources, and effective working relationships.

- In a few countries, such as Sweden, research and evaluation results have been used for policy making.

- In most countries, population trends such as population growth, literacy levels, and immigration from rural to urban areas have affected adult role performance, which in turn influences adult continuing education. Adult education responses tend to occur after the trend is well established.

- Economic systems, conditions, and trends have especially influenced adult education, as illustrated by reports from Latin America, Europe, the Middle East, and Asia.

- Government relations with powerful elites (as members of the elites relate to masses of powerless adults) affect adult continuing education policies. This may be reflected in legislation, extent and type of subsidy, and informal pressures on program priorities and relations with preparatory education. Examples are widespread from all regions.

- The extent to which a country is pluralistic is reflected in the adult education programs.

- Practitioner understanding of facilitators and deterrents to adult education participation is associated with how well practitioners attract hard-to-reach adults, as illustrated by examples from Europe and Israel.

- Client images of providers affect learner participation.

- It is especially difficult to attract and serve adult learners from remote areas. Special distance education methods or personal contact may be required.

- Collaboration among adult education providers requires major incentives.

- Informal contact among practitioners from various types of providers contributes to cooperation.

CONCLUSIONS

An international perspective on adult continuing education can help practitioners in the United States recognize options and make sound plans and decisions. Because international events affect our lives as practitioners, consumers, and citizens, it is increasingly important that we think globally as we act locally. Effective leaders can use domestic and international comparative analysis to benefit planning and decision making in several ways. A comparative perspective can help us (1) clarify our own assumptions, beliefs, and practices; (2) identify major societal influences as a basis of adapting promising ideas and practices, through an understanding of both distinctive features and common denominators; (3) anticipate emerging trends and issues; and (4) raise productive planning and policy questions. Similarities occur at more abstract levels while differences are evident at more concrete levels.

Adult continuing education practitioners with leadership responsibilities can use an international perspective to understand major societal influences that pertain to their plans and decisions. Examples of such decisions include (1) initiating strategic planning, (2) strengthening procedures to attract and retain hard-to-reach adults, (3) deciding whether to initiate a broad or focused campaign, (4) providing professional development activities for adult continuing education instructors and coordinators, (5) selecting high priority categories of adults for whom programs will be offered, (6) setting policies about collaboration with other types of adult continuing education providers, and (7) using contributions of higher education institutions. An international perspective can help practitioners understand that the varied programs in each country reflect historical and societal influences. However, although more technologically developed countries may have more varied adult continuing education programs and more financial support, they share with most countries concerns about equality, pluralism, and decentralization. Perhaps the most useful insights from comparative analysis are those concerning societal influences on programs elsewhere that illuminate local influences to be considered when planning.

Strategic planning uses information about agency goals, strengths, and leadership along with trends, client interests, and provider relations in the service area. The pluralistic nature of the field affirms the importance of voluntary planning and commitment to implementation. Provider goals typically emphasize occupational advancement for economic productivity much more than quality of life for greater interdependence. Goals and procedures are affected by population, economic, and political influences. In such a complex situation, it takes able practitioners to provide effective leadership.

Successful efforts to attract underserved adults reflect both responsiveness to the motives of each category of clients and recognition of major situational deterrents and influences. One situational influence is the development policies of policy makers, including their beliefs about whether undereducated adults will retard national or community development. Such policy decisions can also reflect competing priorities for resources. Investment in counseling and information services is more likely where it is believed that individual adults should have a major say in their own career and educational planning.

Policy decisions about whether to conduct an intensive mass adult education campaign or to use a more limited long-term approach can be greatly informed by experience elsewhere. In addition to careful weighing of costs and benefits, practitioners might consider how important centralized political systems with ideological fervor have been in most successful mass campaigns in the past.

Most people who help adults learn and who supervise those who do so have little specialized preparation for the role. Thus, an important function of adult education program administrators is the professional development of the practitioners and volunteers in their program. Such administrative leadership is influenced by available professional knowledge from various countries and contributions by universities and associations through publications and conferences. Initiative for such leadership can originate with agency administrators, association directors, or university professors.

Decisions about high priority recipients of adult education entail value judgments. In addition to assessments to discover the extent and types of unmet educational needs, context analysis helps provide the basis for judgments about relative priority. Pertinent information would be national, community, or organizational priorities as they pertain to human resource development. Such context analysis is complicated by conflicting pressures regarding the relative importance of roles and specialties. These are questions that needs assessments alone cannot answer.

In most countries, adult education providers serve diverse populations with little overall policy to guide relations among providers. Thus, cooperative working relations depend on voluntary collaboration. The close connections that government departments, enterprises, labor unions, religious institutions, social agencies, and voluntary associations each have with related educational programs for adults help explain the extreme pluralism of providers. Strong beliefs about the desirability of decentralization produce resistance to centralization as a satisfactory means of coordination. This suggests that special attention should be given to ways of encouraging informal interaction and voluntary cooperation among practitioners from various types of providers.

There is widespread dissatisfaction about insufficient assistance from universities in the form of useful research findings and professional development for practitioners. Much collaboration among providers arises from informal association among practitioners. It would be desirable to have greater incentives for major collaboration.

The foregoing review of conclusions regarding international perspectives on adult education highlights some of the societal influences on local educational programs for adults. An appreciation of such influences in other national settings can help practitioners in the United States ask productive questions about major societal influence in their own setting. The resulting answers can enable practitioners to recognize program options and emerging trends. Such a sense of direction is the essence of leadership.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Journals with Articles on Comparative Adult Education

Articles relevant to comparative education appear in many journals, more than two dozen of which were cited in this monograph. A major source is ***Convergence***, which contains about one third of the journal articles cited. The recent addition of the ***International Journal of Lifelong Education*** should expand coverage even further regarding international adult education. Several journals broadly concerned with comparative education sometimes include articles on adult continuing education, using terms such as recurrent or nonformal education. Examples include ***Comparative Education Review***, ***Compare***, ***International Journal of Educational Development***, ***International Review of Education***, and ***Prospects: Quarterly Review of Education***.

United States journals on adult education occasionally have international articles. Examples include ***Adult Education Quarterly***, ***Adult Literacy and Basic Education***, ***Lifelong Learning***, and ***New Directions for Continuing Education***. International and comparative education articles more often appear in the major adult education journals in other parts of the world. Examples include ***Adult Education*** (London), ***Indian Journal of Adult Education***, and ***Journal of Adult Education*** (Lusaka). Journals in other countries that deal with education broadly sometimes include articles on international adult education. Examples include ***European Journal of Education***, ***Oxford Review of Education***, ***Western European Education***, and ***International Journal of Political Education***.

Useful bibliographies on adult education in various countries have been published by various centers. Examples include the Centre for Continuing Education of the University of British Columbia, the European Centre for Leisure and Education in Prague, and the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education in the United Kingdom.

Appendix B

Methods of Comparative Analysis

Comparative adult education researchers have a growing multidisciplinary literature to guide their efforts. More than 100 articles in the ***International Encyclopedia of Education*** (Husen and Postlethwaite 1985) pertain to many aspects of educational programs for adults. Illustrative articles deal with international adult education, national systems and structures of adult education, and comparative studies of nonformal education.

Such articles reflect the complexity of adult education worldwide. The European Centre for Leisure and Education, located in Prague, has developed a methodological framework for comparative adult education (Maydl et al. 1983). This center has also published many individual country reports on adult eduction. Titmus (1981) reported the results of such comparative analyses for Europe. The Unesco Institute for Education in Hamburg published a series of studies on post-literacy and continuing education, which includes Dave, Perera, and Ouane (1985). In Charters et al. (1981), the chapters by Kidd and by Savicevic are especially useful for planning comparative analyses.

Writings from related fields can make major contributions. For example, Altbach, Kelly, and Kelly (1981) provided a useful introductory essay on comparative education, a field in transition, in their international bibliography of comparative education. Miles and Huberman (1984) provided an excellent guide to analysis of qualitative data, which can be so useful in cross-national studies.

Concepts, methods, and findings from comparative research in education and the social sciences generally have several uses in comparative adult education. One use is for contextual analysis of relations between adult continuing education and preparatory education, and various political, economic, and social institutions. Another reason for a broad interest in comparative research in related fields is to supplement comparative adult education, which has a relatively brief and slender history. The first international conference on comparative study of adult education occurred less than two decades ago (Liveright and Haygood 1968). Subsequent articles in ***Convergence*** suggested useful directions (Kidd 1970; Savicevic 1970) as did an anthology of comparative studies in adult education (Bennett, Kidd, and Kulich 1975). Recent contributions include Harris (1980) and Thomas and Elsey (1985). Some volumes with other purposes can provide a useful orientation for comparative adult education research (Bown and Okedara 1981; Srinivasan 1977).

Some writings about comparative education provide an overview (Altbach, Arnove, and Kelly 1982; Holmes 1965; Noah and Eckstein 1969). Other writings deal more directly with comparative education research methods (Eckstein and Noah 1969; Edwards, Holmes, and Vande Graaf 1973; Havelock and Huberman 1977; Holmes 1977, 1981; Noah 1984). Recent writings have explored issues regarding scholars in technologically more advanced countries conducting research in developing countries (K. King 1985; van den Bor 1985; von Pogrell 1985; Watson 1985).

In fields such as sociology and political science, writings on comparative analysis contribute to an understanding of the societal context of adult education and to comparative analysis methods (Almond and Verba 1980; Elder 1976; Hunt, Crane, and Wahlke 1964; Scarrow 1969).

Bibliographies on comparative adult education can be a valuable resource (Charnley 1974; Kulich 1982, 1984, 1987; Savicky 1982, 1984; Thomas and Davies 1984; Thomas and Elsey 1985).

Appendix C

Promising Sources of Comparative Social Indicators

Banks, Arthur S., ed. ***Political Handbook of the World: 1986.*** New York: CSA Publications, 1986

Contains essential information about every country in the world, including political status, area, population, major urban centers, economy, and government. Gives an up-to-date overview of the political forces currently at work in the nation.

International Labour Office. ***1985 Yearbook of Labour Statistics.*** 45th Issue. Geneva: ILO, n.d.

Good source of country data for employment information from 1975-1984 on a general level, by industry, and by occupation.

Taylor, Charles L., and Jodice, David A., eds. ***World Handbook of Political and Social Indicators, Volume I: Cross-National Attributes and Rates of Change.*** 3d ed. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983.

In addition to a great deal of information on economic indicators, a section on "social mobilization" includes data on school enrollment as a percent age of the school-age population, enrollment in higher education, literacy, percentage of the adult population having completed the primary level of education, and percentage of urbanization.

United Nations. ***1982 Statistical Yearbook.*** 33d Issue. New York: Department of International Economic and Social Affairs, Statistical Office, 1985.

Good source of unemployment statistics by country from 1970-1982 and illiteracy statistics broken down by male, female, and total population.

United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization. ***Statistical Yearbook 1985.*** Paris: Unesco, 1986.

Lists estimates of illiteracy by country for around 1985. Should be used with preceding reference.

U.S. Department of State. ***Foreign Area Studies.*** Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office (different dates depending upon country).

One hundred and six different case studies of a "country's social, economic, political and military organization designed for the nonspecialist. Each study describes a single country with a view toward depicting cultural and historical origins and the role these play in the country's present institutional organization and functioning. Researched by an interdisciplinary team, the objective is to describe a whole society as coherent dynamic system of relationships and interactions."

They are relatively up to date. The more recent editions of revised handbooks are newly entitled ***Country Studies.*** The older editions were known as the ***Area Handbook Series;*** the newer editions are referred to as, for example, ***Peru, a Country Study*** instead of ***Area Handbook for Peru.*** Contain bibliographies and maps.

U.S. Department of State. Bureau of Public Affairs. ***Background Notes.*** Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office (different publication dates depending upon country).

The most up-to-date information available on countries. Contains background information on the people of the country, geography, government, economy, history, past and current political conditions, principal government officials, trade and agriculture, foreign relations, and relations with United States. Contains bibliography and map.

World Bank. ***Economic Data, Volume I.*** Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Exhaustive treatment of economic development indicators and comparative economic data for all countries. Classified by developing economies, high-income oil exporters, industrial market economies, and East European nonmarket economies.

World Bank. ***Social Data, Volume II.*** Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984.

Provides comparative data on countries of the world on population, demography, health and nutrition, education, employment and income, and consumption.

World Bank. ***The World Bank Atlas 1985.*** Washington, DC: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank, 1985.

Contains data for 189 countries and territories on population, gross national product, and GNP per capita in current U.S. dollars. There is also data on life expectancy, infant mortality, and primary school enrollment, but the data on GNP per capita is the focal point of the atlas. Extensive use of charts to make visually very concrete the differences among the least developed, developing, and the developed nations.

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